

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1567

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO

USNMR SHAPE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, MPOL, XT, NATO

SUBJECT: SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S ADDRESS TO NORTH ATLANTIC
ASSEMBLY, SEPTEMBER 26.

SUMMARY: THERE FOLLOWS SUMMARY RECORD BASED ON OUR NOTES OF QUESTION
AND ANSWER PERIOD DURING SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S APPEARANCE
BEFORE THE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY. THE TEXT OF SECRETARY
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SCHLESINGER'S OPENING STATEMENT, WHICH IMMEDIATELY PRECEDED

THE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS REPORTED BELOW, HAS BEEN TRANSMITTED
SEPTTEL USINFO, END SUMMARY.

1. NETHERLANDS DELEGATE ASKED WHETHER IT WOULD BE MEANINGFUL TO ACCEPT NEGOTIATED CONSTRAINTS ON CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS IN VIEW OF RAPID CHANGES IN THE CAPABILITY OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS AND ADVANCES IN GUIDANCE SYSTEMS. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SAID WE SHOULD APPROACH THIS ISSUE WITH THE CONVICTION THAT AS AN ALLIANCE WE MUST NOT PLACE OURSELVES IN A POSITION WHERE EARLY RECOURSE TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS MIGHT BE REQUIRED. TO THE DEGREE NEGOTIATED CONSTRAINTS ON CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS UNDERMINE THIS APPROACH, IT WOULD BE UNWISE FOR THE ALLIANCE TO ACCEPT SUCH CONSTRAINTS. WE SHOULD NOT ACCEPT RESTRAINTS THAT WOULD LIMIT OUR CHOICES REGARDING COURSES OF ACTION WE MIGHT TAKE TO REPEL ANY HYPOTHETICAL AGGRESSION.

2. BRITISH DELEGATE ASKED SECRETARY SCHLESINGER TO COMMENT ON THE THREAT POSED BY THE SOVIET SUBMARINE FLEET. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SAID THAT TO PRESERVE THE SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE WE MUST BE ABLE TO CONTAIN THE WARSAW PACT FORCES DEPLOYED IN THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA AND WARSAW PACT REINFORCEMENTS. AT PRESENT, WE HAVE SUCH CAPABILITY. IT DEPENDS ON FORCES IN WESTERN EUROPE AND ON OUR ABILITY TO USE FORCES STATIONED IN NORTH AMERICA TO REINFORCE WESTERN EUROPE. UNTIL THE EARLY SIXTIES SOVIET NAVAL FORCES WERE ALMOST ENTIRELY COASTAL. HOWEVER, THROUGH THE SIXTIES AND EARLY SEVENTIES THE SOVIETS HAVE BUILT UP A BLUE WATER FLEET WHICH HAS LONG-RANGE CAPABILITIES. THE SOVIET SUBMARINE FLEET IS THE MOST POWERFUL IN THE WORLD AND POSES A SUBSTANTIAL THREAT TO OUR ABILITY TO REINFORCE WESTER EUROPE. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SAID WE ARE LIVING WITH A HIGHER DEGREE OF THREAT THAN HE WOULD WISH. HOWEVER, HE BELIEVED THAT WITH CONTINUED ATTENTION AND EFFORT THIS THREAT COULD BE KEPT WITHIN MANAGEABLE PROPORTIONS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR ABILITY TO REINFORCE WESTERN EUROPE FROM NORTH AMERICA, BECAUSE THIS ABILITY RAISES THE RISK FOR THE WARSAW PACT OF INITIATING ANY OFFENSIVE ACTION AND THUS HAS THE DESIRED EFFECT OF AVOIDING RECOURSE TO USE OF ARMED FORCE. SINCE THE PHASE-OUT IN VIETNAM, THE UNITED STATES HAS CONCENTRATED ON ITS PRIMARY DEFENSE COMMITMENT, WESTERN EUROPE. THE US HAS UNCLASSIFIED

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IMPROVED ITS CAPABILITIES IN THIS AREA. IN A PERIOD OF TENSION, THE US WILL BE PREPARED TO REINFORCE WESTERN EUROPE. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO MAKE USE OF WARNING TIME TO CARRY OUT REINFORCEMENT SO THAT WE WILL NEVER IN PRACTICE HAVE TO USE WARNING TIME OR OUR WEAPONS IN WESTERN EUROPE.

3. NETHERLANDS DELEGATE ASKED WHETHER NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN US STRATEGIC DOCTRINE COULD LEAD TO SELECTED OR LIMITED USE OF

NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE ASKED SECRETARY SCHLESINGER TO COMMENT ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW US STRATEGIC DOCTRINE FOR ALLIANCE STRATEGY AND THE ROLE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THAT STRATEGY. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SAID HE WAS GLAD TO COMMENT ON THIS ISSUE. HE NOTED THAT THE PROTECTION OF WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA MUST RELY ON OUR ABILITY TO DETER AGGRESSION. FOR DETERRENCE TO BE EFFECTIVE, WE MUST HAVE THE ABILITY TO RESPOND APPROPRIATELY TO ANY THREAT. THE ALLIANCE MUST NOT REST ITS DETERRENCE ON THE THREAT OF EMPLOYMENT OR IMMEDIATE EMPLOYMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IT MUST MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP ITS CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY. NATO PARLIAMENTARIANS SHOULD THEREFORE INFORM THEIR PUBLICS OF THE REASONS WHY THEY MUST NOT REDUCE THE CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITIES OF ALLIANCE COUNTRIES. THE NUCLEAR THRESHHOLD IS LOWERED WHEN CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITIES ARE REDUCED. IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL ALLIES TO MAINTAIN THIS THRESHHOLD AT A HIGH LEVEL.

4. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SAID THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE CHANGE IN THE DOCTRINE REGARDING USE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS IF CONVENTIONAL FORCES ARE NOT ABLE TO DETER AND REPEL ATTACK. AS FOR STRATEGIC DOCTRINE, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE WARSAW PACT AND THE USSR PERCEIVE THIS DOCTRINE AS COUPLING THE DEFENSE OF NORTH AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER STRESSED THAT POSSIBLE RECOURSE TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS WOULD BE THE MOST AGONIZING DECISION ANY POLITICAL LEADER WOULD EVER HAVE TO TAKE. A DECISION TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WOULD BE MADE ONLY IN THE MOST DESPERATE CIRCUMSTANCES. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER NOTED DEVELOPMENTS IN SOVIET NUCLEAR CAPABILITY INVOLVING BOTH EXTREMELY HIGH THROW WEIGHTS AND IMPROVEMENTS IN ACCURACY WHICH COULD LEAD BY THE EARLY 1980'S TO A THREAT TO OUR LAND-BASED ICBMS. HE SAID THE UNITED STATES FOR ITS PART IS PREPARED TO AVOID IMPROVEMENTS IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAT WOULD THREATEN THE DETERRENT CAPABILITY OF THE OTHER ISE. WE MUST, HOWEVER, MAINTAIN ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE. WE ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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PREPARED TO AVOID IMPROVEMENTS IN COUNTER-FORCE CAPABILITIES BUT WE CANNOT DO THIS ALONE. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOME CAPABILITY TO BE ABLE TO REDUCE THE COLLATERAL DAMAGE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS IN ITSELF A DESIRABLE FEATURE.

5. BGITISH DELEGATE ASKED SECRETARY SCHLESINGER TO COMMENT ON STATEMENTS THAT FURTHER INCREASES IN RATIO OF COMBAT TO SUPPORT TROOPS SHOULD NOT BE MADE. HE ALSO ASKED ABOUT THE IMPACT OF BUDGET TRENDS ON ALLIED RELIANCE ON RESERVE FORCES. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SAID THIS IS AN ISSUE OF IMMEDIATE COMBAT READINESS VERSUS LONG TERM EFFECTIVENESS. WE SHOULD NOT INCREASE RATIO OF COMBAT TROOPS TO THE POINT WHERE WE COULD NOT SUPPORT COMBAT OPERATIONS IN THE FIELD. THE UNITED STATES IS CONTINUING TO STUDY THIS QUESTION CAREFULLY WITH RESPECT TO ITS OWN FORCES. WE BELIEVE WE WOULD BE REMISS IN NOT IMPROVING OUR DEPLOYMENT RATIOS

IF WE CAN DO SO SINCE SUCH IMPROVEMENTS WOULD ADD TO DETERRENCE AND
BLUNT ANY WARSAW PACT THRUST. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER NOTED THAT
WARSAW PACT DOCTRINE LOOKED TO THE IMMEDIATE USE OF MASSIVE TANK
FORCES AGAINST WEAK POINTS IN ALLIED DEFENSE. WE THEREFORE MUST
NOT REDUCE OUR IN-PLACE CAPABILITY TO ANY SIGNIFICANT DEGREE.
ALLIED FORCES IN THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA ARE OUTNUMBERED 5 TO 4.

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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1568

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

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IN ADDITION, THE SOVIETS CAN QUICKLY BRING INTO PLAY THE 30
SOVIET DIVISIONS STATIONED IN THE WESTERN MILITARY DISTRICT. THERE-

FORE, WE MUST NOT FURTHER REDUCE OUR CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY AND WE MUST IMPROVE OUR MOBILIZABLE FORCES. BUT WE MUST NOT COUNT ON MOBILIZABLE FORCES TO REPLACE ACTIVE DUTY FORCES IF WE INTEND TO MAINTAIN ADEQUATE DETERRENCE. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER NOTED THAT THE PRESENT LEVEL OF WESTERN EUROPEAN SPENDING IS LESS THAN IT WAS A DECADE AGO. HE SAID UNEMPLOYMENT WAS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL

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ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE AND THAT THE UNEMPLOYMENT PICTURE WOULD NOT BE IMPROVED BY FURTHER DEFENSE CUTS.

6. NETHERLANDS DELEGATE ASKED SECRETARY SCHLESINGER TO COMMENT ON REPORTS THAT THE FRG WOULD NOT NECESSARILY RENEW IT OFFSET AGREEMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES AND LIKELY US REACTION TO THE FRG POSITION. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SAID IT IS KNOWN THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS PURSUED THE OBJECTIVE OF CONTINUING OFFSET ARRANGEMENTS. AT THE SAME TIME WE RECOGNIZE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES INCLUDING THE IMPROVEMENT IN OUR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS POSITION SINCE THE LATE 60'S. CHANGES IN THE FLOW OF TRADE AND FUNDS ARE SUCH THAT WE COULD LIVE WITH SOME ADAPTATION OF PAST OFFSET AGREEMENTS. AS TO THE US REACTION TO EUROPEAN POSITIONS ON THIS ISSUE, SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SAID HE BELIEVED OUR CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION WOULD BE IN A BETTER POSITION THAN HE TO COMMENT. HOWEVER, IT WAS INDISPENSABLE FOR THE SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE THAT US FORCES REMAIN IN WESTERN EUROPE. IT WOULD BE TRAGIC IF MINOR DIFFERENCES OF OPINION REGARDING BUDGETARY ISSUES UNDERMINE THE SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE AND OF THE FREE WORLD.

7. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SUMMED UP THE DISCUSSION BY EMPHASIZING THAT 30 YEARS OF SECURITY IN WESTERN EUROPE HAS UNDERMINED THE RECOGNITION IN ALL OF OUR COUNTRIES THAT SECURITY IS THE RESULT OF OUR EFFORTS AND IS NOT MANNA FROM HEAVEN, THERE HAS BEEN A GRADUAL DIMINUTION OF THE DEFENSE CONTRIBUTION OF ALLIANCE COUNTRIES AND THIS DIMINUTION HAS REACHED A PERIL POINT. WE MUST NOT BE OVERLY RELIANT ON GERMAN AND US CONTRIBUTIONS TO WESTERN DEFENSE. OTHER ALLIANCE MEMBERS MUST ALSO MAINTAIN THE NUMBER, TRAINING, AND EQUIPMENT OF THEIR FORCES. IN THE SOVIET UNION REAL EXPENDITURES FOR MILITARY PURPOSES ARE INCREASING BY 4 PERCENT EACH YEAR. THE SOVIETS DEVOTE 15 TO 17 PERCENT OF THEIR NON-AGRICULTURE WORK FORCE TO DEFENSE EFFORTS. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE BURDEN IN THE WEST IS NOT HEAVY. WE SHOULD ALL BE CONTRIBUTING 5 PERCENT OF GNP TO DEFENSE. EXPENDITURES FOR SOCIAL PURPOSES IN THE WEST ARE NOW LARGER THAN EXPENDITURES FOR MILITARY PURPOSES, AND FURTHER CUTS IN MILITARY SPENDING WILL NOT INCREASE SIGNIFICANTLY FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR OTHER PURPOSES. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SAID HE WOULD NOT COMMENT ON RELATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TO ALLIANCE DEFENSE EFFORTS OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS. HOWEVER, ONE COULD LOOK AT CHARTS AND SEE PRECISELY THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUAL

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MEMBERS IN RELEVANT CATEGORIES. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER CONCLUDED
THAT IF OUR DEFENSE EFFORTS LAG, THE ULTIMATE EFFECT WILL BE TO
UPSET THE BALANCE OF POWER WITH ALL THE CONSEQUENCES THAT THIS
WOULD ENTAIL FOR THE FREEDOM OF EUROPE AND THE SOCIETY OF
NORTH AMERICA.
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